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The Future of Europe

The bitter disillusionment about the Nazis of one of the leading Belgian "collaborationists," Raymond de Becker, has been courageously recorded by himself in a printed address to the staff of the Brussels paper *Soir*, of which he is editor.

JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY

tells here the story of that disillusionment.

DE BECKER was a convinced National Socialist. He believed, like the famous Belgian Socialist, Henri de Man, that National Socialism was a creed which could combine elements of the socialist economic revolution with respect for the national individuality; and he thought that the German Nazis aimed at a European revolution in this sense.

"It was believed that Europe would eventually come into being, that national entities, though recognized and respected, would gradually be outgrown, that a great economic unity was about to be created, that an era of prosperity would thus be possible for all European countries and that Belgium in particular would no longer be the eternal battlefield of her great neighbours.

"It did not worry us in the least that it was Germany who could realize these great plans: we had learned our geography. The Reich seemed to be the heart of Europe and destined by its central position and demographic strength to assume its natural function of bringing order and federation to the Continent."

There was nothing unreasonable in that expectation. Force has in history generally been the midwife of unity: and the Blitzkrieg of the Germans was more sparing of human life than any previously known form of war.

It is at least intelligible that men like de Becker should have (as he says) "participated in the euphoria which then existed throughout Europe, we shared the hopes of the young European generation, we thought that a new world would arise out of the revolutionary war."

DISCOVERIES

But the disillusion came.

Whereas de Becker and his friends expected to find German National Socialists revolutionary in this European sense, and opposed to the Pan-Germanism of the men of the old régime, they discovered that the Party itself was divided on this question. Its members had their own opinions, but "evaded responsibility, waiting for the Fuehrer to speak."

But the SS did not hesitate or conceal what it was after: "the systematic elimination of any Belgian national force, the creation of mercenary groups, the fostering of a spirit favourable to an Anschluss or annexation under the pretext of Germanity."

THINKING FOR TOMORROW

INDUBITABLY, pacifism will become a growing movement in the future. It will be more apparent after this war than there is, ultimately, no other escape from an intolerable destiny of incessant totalitarian war.

But if it is to be worthy of its opportunity, pacifism must develop its own social philosophy, its own coherent and comprehensive attitude to life, and not be content with unrelated scraps that derive from alien creeds. This work will take time, need energy, and call for devotion. It is thinking for the future: it will be the thought of the future. This is the work which you are providing for when you make your contribution to the Peace News Fund.

Contributions since Jan. 18: £21 17s. 6d. Total to date: £5,122 5s. 11d.

THE EDITOR

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"Munich" Betrayal of Poland

THE dream of post-war collaboration with Russia has been rudely disturbed by the Russian reply to Poland, and the publication in Pravda of a report of negotiations for a separate peace between Britain and Germany.

The striking parallel between the affair of Czecho-Slovakia in 1938 and the Polish affair of 1944 has not escaped notice. The Observer (Jan. 23), emphasizing this, argues strongly that it would be as fatal in the one case as the other for Britain to recognize the unilateral action of Russia.

"If this deed is done, if the rights of Poland and the Polish Government are forcibly thrust aside, then the declarations of Moscow and Teheran become scraps of paper."

Further, its Diplomatic Correspondent prints a report that a more conciliatory answer by Molotov was "altered by the intervention of high Army officers and the OGPU."

"They pressed on Molotov the necessity of raising again the alleged past misconduct of the Polish Government, and, in particular, the old suggestion, hinted at in the Polish demands for a Red Cross inquiry, that the mass-murders at Katyn were done by Russians; obviously the OGPU had a direct interest in such a disclaimer."

The implication of the last sentence is sinister indeed.

No German "Crack"

THERE is not yet a sign of cracking in the military morale of Germany. The evidence is that they are fighting stubbornly, skilfully, and with an unshaken confidence that they can avoid defeat. Speaking of the slowness of the British advance in Italy, the Manchester Guardian wrote (Jan. 10):

"The time it takes is woefully long . . . Our

The second discovery was that the Germans are completely lacking in psychological understanding. "They are one of the greatest peoples in the world, but they have no sense of reality. Like the poet, the musician, or even the warrior, they live in a world of their own."

De Becker instances the labour requisitionings. Although Belgian specialists draw up a plan which would have given the same economic results, yet left the majority of Belgians to work in their own country, the Germans ignored it all. So in the policy of collaboration, instead of trying to work with popular and representative men they prefer to create mercenary groups on whom they bestow unlimited favours.

EUROPE'S TRAGEDY

Yet it is in Belgium (de Becker says) that the Germans have been most successful. In Holland, Norway, Denmark, France, Croatia, and even Italy, Hungary, Finland, and Spain their failure was even greater.

"With the help of all Europe Germany could have won; but for that she would have needed a great European policy. European unity is in the making, but against Germany. There is the tragedy, for by her geographical position Germany has a natural co-ordinating function to fulfil in Europe."

This conclusion was quoted in the Economist (Dec. 11) which added: "There are signs that the Allies, in the name of 'realism,' are ready to mistake Europe just as the Nazis mistook it."

AGAINST BRITAIN TOO?

That is to the point. That the unity of Europe is in the making against Germany does not imply that it is in the making for Britain to lead instead. The Manchester Guardian remarked on Dec. 9:

"It is tempting for Britons to think that the small States will think of Britain only as the nation which stood out against Hitler in 1940, unfortunately other memories will remain, of days when we made it clear that we were more anxious to buy the friendship of Germany than to protect the small States."

The Nazis' attempt to unify Europe has failed, really because the Nazis did not mean it seriously. They meant—the Fuehrer alone knew what they meant. But if we do not mean it seriously—and there is as yet no sign that we do—it will none the less one day be accomplished: as much against us, as it is now against Germany.

The above quotations and summarized extracts from de Becker's speech are taken from the Manchester Guardian, Dec. 10.

difficulties, which affect the 8th Army as well, are made as much by the quality of the troops we are facing as by the terrain itself."

Nor is there any warrant for speaking of German military defeat in the East. The evidence entirely confirms the German claim that theirs is a strategic retreat according to plan. Compare the number of prisoners captured by the Russians in their advance with those captured by the Germans in their advance in 1941. The proportion is, at most, about 1 to 20.

Under-Belly's Backbone

THERE is no rational basis for the widely held opinion that Germany will be defeated in Europe by the end of the year. F. O. Miksche, the Czech military expert, says: "It is by no means easy to tell whether victory can be achieved in the nearer or remoter future." The German High Command, he says, assumes that:

- (1) Air bombardment is not in itself decisive.
- (2) An invasion from the West is, technically, extremely difficult to carry out.
- (3) The Eastern Front, all the Russian victories notwithstanding, can be stabilised on the Riga-Odessa line.
- (4) Invasion from the south can be beaten off with comparative ease by basing defence on the mountain ranges of Italy and the Balkans."

None of these assumptions, says Miksche, has been positively disproved. As Aneurin Bevan lately said in the Commons, striking at the soft under-belly of Europe is, in fact, climbing up the hard backbone.

Test Germany Withstood

MIKSCHÉ'S final consolation is that "it would be wrong to view the present situation from the purely military and strategic standpoint." In come the imponderables. "It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that the slightest crack in Germany's system of alliances may produce unpredictable consequences."

Few things are clean beyond the bounds of possibility. But this one seems much less probable than it was last June. Then occurred the biggest conceivable crack—a positive chasm—in Germany's system of alliances. Mussolini was overthrown. On Hitler's own confession the whole German edifice of European defence

Observer's Commentary

was shaken. But Britain and USA were unable to exploit the opportunity. Mr. Churchill's strategic gaffe of "the soft underbelly" was paralleled by his moral and political gaffe of "leaving the Italians to stew in their own juice."

Touchstone of "Unity"

THE incapacity to take military advantage of the situation may possibly not be blameworthy, though to the amateur the fiasco of the Aegean isles looked like stupidity. But the failure to take the moral and political offensive at that crucial moment—the wooden repetition of "unconditional surrender"—was remarkable.

In the present situation, it is at least as reasonable for Germany as for ourselves to anticipate unpredictable consequences from a crack in the opposing system of alliances. The Russian treatment in the Polish question is a cynical commentary on the talk of complete unity at Moscow and Teheran. The Times (Jan. 19) reports that the Russian reception of the American Note offering mediation is widely regarded as a test of the effectiveness of the declarations of unity.

"The Polish question is inevitably being linked with Pravda's report of separate peace talks . . . The most serious interpretation of this story is that it may represent a warning to Britain and America that Russia is prepared to abandon the conception of general political

TRAGEDY OF A CONTINENT

Told in Pictures of its Children

A MOVING study, not only of the children who are starving in blockaded Europe but of the nation's tragedy that lies behind their suffering, is contained in "Europe's Children," a collection of 62 photographs by Therese Bonney published in USA.

Describing it as "the war's most shocking book," the American news-magazine Time (Dec. 6) reports that it was rejected by ten US publishers before the photographer brought it out herself. But the limited edition was quickly exhausted, and the firm of Duell, Sloane, and Pearce prepared to publish it in December.

Says Time:

"Its unposed photographs of children among the ruins are not primarily atrocity pictures, although there are a few ghastly studies of starvation. These superb photographs of children are different from others only in their background: behind them the world is in ruins and over them the stricken faces of their parents leave their imperishable imprints on child minds."

"Some of the childish faces are drowsy, dying of fatigue. Some of them are incredibly beautiful, the maturity and purpose on their pondering faces giving to the photographs the wild quality of early Christian art."

collaboration agreed on at the Moscow conference if she is not given a free hand in Eastern Europe."

France Another Italy?

WHAT is plain to see is that real unity does not exist, for it is now evident that no attempt was made to reach a settlement on urgent and concrete political issues. That is the indispensable condition of enduring alliance—above all during a long war.

Now, everything plainly depends on the success of the invasion of Europe from the West. Will it succeed or will it fail? Objectively speaking, the chances of failure seem as great as those of success. Leaving aside the sheer military difficulties of the enterprise, we may, apparently, discount the general expectation that there will be a general uprising in France.

"Although the majority of Parisians and probably all Frenchmen place great hopes in liberation by the Allies, it would be a mistake if the Allies were to count too much on these sympathies . . . It seems rather that in the event of an Anglo-Saxon invasion of France developments would be similar to those in Italy" (Die Mittwoche, Swiss, quoted by Manchester Guardian, Jan. 10).

Since the Times lately gave a grim picture of "developments" in Italy, the imponderables are not encouraging.

Revolution - by Nihilism

THE conclusion seems to be that the Germans have a good chance of fighting a successful defensive war. It may be their turn to show that they do not know when they are beaten. But what is not a matter of opinion at all is that Europe is rapidly becoming "proletarianized" in the most desperate sense of the word. Raymond de Becker, the disillusioned Belgian collaborationist, writes:

"Think for a moment what the destruction of Hamburg, Cologne, Dortmund, Essen, Milan, Genoa, and so many other European cities means. Think of the hundreds of thousands of men today, without a roof, without a home, who live in barracks or with strangers, and eat in canteens; add to these the millions of workers dragged from their home and country, and you will get an idea of the nihilistic revolution that is being hatched."

Proletarianization

THIS sombre prognosis is exactly confirmed by an "exceptionally well informed" European correspondent of the Christian News-Letter (Jan. 12), who reports that the process of proletarianization is going on in Germany "with terrifying speed."

"The policy of a landslide towards the East would not be a great danger if it were certain that Russia will be a constructive element in the European situation. But this is by no means certain . . . For the sake of the future it is essential that the Russian way out should not become the only way out."

"But there is more. The turning of the proletarian masses towards Russia is not merely based on their desire for social justice, but also on their despair. Their interest in Russia is to a large extent their interest in overthrowing all remnants of the traditional social and political order. It is clear that radical changes must take place in that order; but they should be based on the fundamental European tradition which is Christian and therefore personalistic and anti-totalitarian. For Europe as a whole to adopt the solution which these masses consider as the Russian solution would be to commit suicide."

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4

Stamford Hill 2262

All letters on other than editorial matters should be addressed to the Manager

A Voice From Scotland

THE Scotsman is a great newspaper; it is also a highly respectable one. One does not expect the fiery cross of Christian revolution to be raised within its pages. Yet in its issue of Jan. 18 it printed one of the most remarkable letters on the moral issue now confronting the world, which has appeared since the war began. It was written by the Hon. William Douglas-Home.

The Polish question, he says, is one example of the truth that "Morality and Strategy make strange bed-fellows, and breed nothing but confusion." One cannot blame Russia or Poland. One does not blame a lion for chewing up a pony in a circus. One blames the ringmaster for permitting the situation to arise.

"Unfortunately, there is no ringmaster in international affairs: there are only lions and ponies, rich and poor, strong and weak. What then is the solution?"

"A nation must come forward honest enough to face the unwelcome truth that security is not enough, brave enough to secure that the dictates of strategy play second fiddle to the demands of morality, great enough to cast away power-politics from her philosophy of life.

"Yet, in spite of treaties, charters, speeches and depositions of varying sincerity, where is the Government prepared to reject power in favour of justice, and security in favour of the Christian ethic? Where is the Government prepared to consider the course of action which will shortly become inevitable if anarchy is not to intervene—internationalizing its own strong points as the only honest prelude to an attempt to persuade others to do the same? Where is the Government ready to agree that the first nation to take unilateral action of that nature will earn the distinction of being the first Christian nation in international affairs? 'Suicide,' shout the critics. 'Not at all,' say I, 'adventure.' And even if it were suicide, is not suicide less horrible than murder, which is all the critics have to offer in its stead?"

"Why then will no Government take the only step to prevent anarchy or, at the best, constantly recurring war? Is it because they know that justice does not come by force of arms, and in arms, rather than moral purpose, lies their strength? Or is it because they know that nations prosper on security while Christianity can only come through sacrifice? Or is it because morality and strategy still shuffle arm in arm along the Whitehall corridors? I think so.

"We must choose between morality and strategy; just as we cannot live with neither, so we cannot survive indefinitely with both. If we choose strategy, then all that remains is to grant all the Great Powers bases in the small Powers' territory—and 'all' includes the Axis Powers. That could be called moral strategy or strategic morality and would lead to war. Our present policy—that of winking at the requirements of our friends and sabotaging the requirements of our enemies—is immoral strategy or strategic immorality. That cannot lead to peace.

"The choice must therefore be morality—a difficult, terrifying, risky, foolhardy choice, yet the only choice promising high endeavour and noble reward, the only crusade which can awaken the imagination and unite the endeavour of a world become lethargic, disillusioned and destructive, lacking an ideal."

We hope that our readers will feel that we have done well to print this letter in this place.

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Metamorphosis of a Movement

THE men and women on whom we depend for our organization are scattered much more widely than when the PPU was founded eight years ago. They are the material out of which our future will be shaped, and through which we shall shape the future. Not only are we more widely dispersed; we are more politically conscious. Events are forcing many to face the possibility of world-wide revolution and a complete revision of economic standards.

The general sense of frustration shared by all pacifists in wartime is a natural, if disturbing, phenomenon, increasing as war continues. Much more alarming is loss of vitality springing from a lack of self-confidence and a sense of personal failure. It is the preservation of this essential vitality containing the seed of the future, which should be the concern of every group. Max Plowman spoke truly when he addressed the first AGM in 1938:

"A movement whose sole basis is conscientious conviction is essentially the most democratic movement you can have. The truth about such a movement is that it acknowledges an interior principle of order and no other. Externally applied, or enforced, order is a kind of war. True order proceeds out of the desire of self-effacing persons to pursue a common end."

If we could combine the old robust sense of mission which was typical of the early days with a deeper realisation of the tremendous obstacles which we have to overcome, there would be an immediate quickening of the spiritual qualities which the occasion demands.

THE OTHER "LAND ARMY"

What is the situation? A large number of formerly active town members are now working on the land.

It is better to face the facts and

by

JOHN BARCLAY

admit that, apart from some specially selected and trained communities, only a small percentage of this pacifist land-force have any sense of vocation for the work; the others are disillusioned. A man sentenced to a term of imprisonment knows the exact limit of his confinement, but for many on the land all hope of release has gone, and they are living a life of bored endurance with little cultural or recreational relief. Pacifism as a philosophy seems to fail when faced by a routine of land-drainage and work under a War Agricultural Committee.

These years of enforced country life, however, have brought thousands of pacifists into close touch with the normal life of land-workers, so that a vital contact is possible by which the pacifist could identify his philosophy with the struggle for social justice of which our whole pacifist witness is a part.

WASTED HUMAN ENERGY

As with the man on the land, so with those who have been unable to accept conditions. Prison life at its

best is a wicked waste of human energy, and much can be destroyed by the physical separation from rapidly moving events. It is often the more politically enlightened who find themselves behind prison bars, and whose energy was the mainspring of group activity.

Clearly this loss of human vitality must have influenced the character of groups: and, in fact, what often happens is that those who are left to carry on are the older and more orthodox members. Now they, too, are becoming aware of the vast changes that will inevitably demand readjustments, and they are no longer sure that "all things work together for good." The structure of their religious faith is not capable of standing the strain unless it is rebuilt.

CONSCIOUS SYNTHESIS?

This largely unconscious development might easily become the conscious striving for the synthesis between politics and religion that is at the heart of the PPU but still lacks expression. There are many signs that encourage one to believe that this conscious synthesis is actually taking place. It is significant that almost without exception the answer to the question "What do you read first in Peace News?" is the Commentary, to be followed by the equally significant complaint that "the rest of the paper is too political."

There is a new longing for a deeper and an abiding faith—a personal faith—that will support the faith called Pacifism. The one thing a person cannot give away to another is his own personal faith. All that we can hope to do is to inspire it in others or, by enriching the ground from which imagination springs, make it more creative.

What I feel certain of is that all over the country the political side of our movement is hungry for religious experience, and the religious side of it hungry for true political expression. When that new balance is attained, the pacifist movement will have within itself the seeds of a new social order—creative and at peace.

LETTERS to the EDITOR

Education Into Peace

AT a recent performance of the film "Bataan" I sat among a crowd of children. Many were very young. There were vivid scenes of fighting between Americans and Japanese, lacking none of that grim realism with which Hollywood seasons its war productions. As enemy soldiers twisted and fell in the rain of machine-gun bullets the youngsters gave delighted cheers, and each Jap dropped with a bayonet in his belly to the accompaniment of much childish laughter.

One called to mind recent letters in Peace News on pacifist propaganda amongst the young; and remem-

In view of the many claims on our very limited space, correspondents are urged to keep their letters under 250 words.

bered that several correspondents advised leaving the young alone—to grow up undisturbed in the belief that a bloodstained bayonet is the best of life's jokes.

We can do better than that. Yet, to sow the seeds that may mature in pacifism, we need not force our children to recite the Peace Pledge daily. A gradual education in humanitarianism could suffice; a gentle awakening of imagination, so that the little egoist who is every child may come to realize, however imperfectly, that the joys and cares and pains of his own person have their counterpart in the lives of others, even those they call our enemies.

A simple lesson, yet, for the very young, perhaps enough. Where, if not from pacifists, shall children learn it today?

A. HIBBERT JONES
19 Broadwater Av.,
Letchworth.

Where are we Heading?

In your issue of Dec. 31 you quote the "Primate's Plea for Charity" in which he tells us "We are bound to take satisfaction" in the achievements of our bombers and "the devastation" caused thereby.

Are we seriously urged by the Leader of our Church to take satisfaction in this wholesale massacre of men, women, and children? I, for one, can hardly believe it.

A friend of mine writing on this subject says, "When our Archbishop finds satisfaction in this wholesale mass-murder, one feels one has touched the depths. Where are we heading?"

Where indeed? Can you supply the answer?
F. C. T. HALLIDAY
Box Cottage, Preston Candover, Basingstoke.

Unawareness

I LISTENED to two friends of mine discussing, with genuine horror and disgust, the mass bombing of Berlin. Yet I knew that, last year, they had done their share towards making the Wings for Victory Campaign a success, and are still faithfully regular in their subscriptions to War Savings. Their enthusiasm for the latter was as sincere as their abhorrence of the former.

This type of muddled thinking is one of the biggest problems the pacifist has to tackle. In that wise religion, Buddhism, "unawareness" (to use Aldous Huxley's apt word) is looked upon as the most deadly of all sins. It is one which pacifists also have to guard against.

IVAN BEUTLER

Flat O4, Beatty House, Dolphin Sq. S.W.1.

Slaves of Environment

I feel sure Raymond O'Malley in his article (Dec. 24) is referring to imaginary classes of crofters and tube drivers and not real people he has met.

Those of us who have lived with both know that the real-life crofters of the West of Scotland are so busy struggling to make a living that they are indeed part of the soil they tend and the machines in the big factories that card the wool they spin and weave. Wool has not been hand carded for 30 years, and the "sliver" comes to the crofter in cardboard boxes. To card by hand would reduce an income which is already poor, and tiny beside the tube driver's.

Of course every craftsman can let himself become a slave of his environment. Millions do, but that's their own fault rather than their environment's. When a man has good wages he can consider changes of occupation and take a look at other people and other places. This is not true of the usual smallholder-farmer, as Mr. O'Malley ought to know.

JOHN DENNIS

The Beeches, Eye, Suffolk.

Growth of Knowledge

The concentration of the individual on the production of a small part of the whole—which is the essence of mass production—is not confined to industrial processes alone but pervades the professions and the arts.

In medicine, the general practitioner, whose job it is to know less about more, refers any serious case to the specialist, who knows more about less. It is an inevitable result of the vast growth of knowledge and the limits of the human mind to keep pace with it all. Each cog is a specialist and it takes a whole lot of specialists to make the wheel of medicine. Even in medicine this makes for monotony; but the endurance of monotony can be a spiritual exercise of the highest order.

(Dr.) J. C. JONES

109 S. Norwood Hill S.E.25.

War Aim?

I thought you might be interested in the following very ominous and frank quotation from the winter issue of The Countryman, p. 258: "A recent speech of Sir Edgar Sanders, director of the Brewers' Society, may be recalled, 'We want to get the beer-drinking habit instilled into thousands, almost millions, of young men who do not at present know the taste of beer.'" One view of post-war Britain!

R. E. H. RUTTER

102 Clarence Rd., St. Albans.

PRISON

Conference at Friends House, Euston Rd., N.W.1, on Saturday, Feb. 12

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After the Fast

ALTOGETHER about 700 people wrote to Dick Sheppard House to notify us of their participation in the fast for all or part of the two days. A good many fasters did not write, so I suppose the number was really not much below the thousand mark. £100 was received in donations to the Food Relief work we are doing, and it has not been possible to acknowledge all the sums sent in. May I say "thank you" for this splendid response?

Donations were sent to Red Cross Societies, to the Famine Relief Committee and to local Committees too. I heard how one such letter and cheque was taken to a Minister of one of the exiled Governments, and how as he read the tears came to his eyes. I hope and believe that many of the exiles have been equally moved by our action and that the hungry peoples will know too, and know very soon.

We are not particularly disappointed that Lord Selborne's reply should have made no answer to our case and given no indication of a change in Government policy. That there has been a great change in the policy to Greece is unquestionable, as you will be glad to read elsewhere. We do not think for a moment that the fast has wrought this change, but we are certainly fortunate in having found the right moment at which to make our appeal. I wish I had space to quote here the selection of comments by those who took part that was given to the National Council last weekend. One or two sponsors of the fast were ready to consider a seven-day fast at a later juncture, if necessary. Another famous pacifist writer spoke of its "great value in increasing the true spiritual unity of mankind." An open-air speaker told how he had been challenged before a crowd of 200 to say whether the local PPU were taking part in the fast and how sympathetic the crowd were when he explained the matter. The highest compliment of all came from a Yorkshireman who wrote: "I feel sure this is the best thing we've ever done (altogether) in the PPU since Dick inspired us."

And what now? The next step seems plain enough. Every one of the 150 mixed committees in the country must make a supreme effort to publicize the Kershner Plan and the Senate decision when it is announced. We are publishing today a broadcast by Dr. Kershner "How to Save the Starving Children of Europe Without Aiding the Enemy." Will you order 1,000 at once and see that they are distributed in your town before the middle of February? It is a tall order, I know, but—as I see it—this is "the big push." We want to get our interested public and all the MPs thoroughly informed on this new development without delay.

May I add a purely personal word? The fast has somehow renewed my sense of unity with all of you who have been working for food relief. You have done truly splendid work in arousing hostile or indifferent people to an active concern for those whom we are trying to save. I do thank you with all my heart for the opportunity to share with you in this work.

ROY WALKER

Food for Greece: Deadlock is Broken

IMMEDIATE NEED MAY NOW BE MET

THE deadlock in the effort to get more food to Greece is broken. If the foodstuffs which (the Food Relief Campaign announces) are expected from the Argentine, Turkey, and Canada all materialize without delay, relief supplies for the next few months will be almost doubled.

And that is what competent authorities in Greece now report to be necessary.

The Argentine Government has increased by 50,000 tons the amount of wheat offered to help towards the solution of the food position of the Greek population.

The Argentine literally has wheat to burn—and has been burning it. A Daily Mail reporter, in a message from Buenos Ayres published on Jan. 8 declared:

"It's a strange world where, in one part, many people are dying of starvation while in another millions of tons of grain go up in smoke—fed to power-house and factory chimneys in place of fuel oil. . . . But that's what has been happening here."

Hitherto political obstacles had prevented the Greeks from sending ships to carry away these precious supplies of grain. Now seven more Swedish ships have been released from the Baltic to carry relief supplies, and Greek representatives in the Argentine have already chartered the necessary shipping space.

OTHER SOURCES

Supplies of wheat from Canada have been in arrears by 30,000 tons, but it is hoped that these will be made

up by an augmented fleet of relief ships.

Turkey too is again making a great effort to help Greece. The ss Sedan has sailed with 5,000 tons of cereals and vegetables, and it is believed that altogether 20,000 tons will be sent in the next month or two.

Supplies from the Argentine cannot reach Greece without passing the blockade, so it may be assumed that the British Government is prepared to allow this. Turkey had hitherto no grain to spare, and it may be that recent conversations between British, American, and Turkish statesmen have led to the facilitation of this effort also.

Vigilance will be necessary to see that adequate relief is maintained. But a great stride forward has been made. The new year has indeed brought a new attitude towards hungry Greece.

WORDS OF PEACE—57

Courage

Courage yet, my brother, or my sister. Keep on.—Liberty is to be subverted whatever occurs.

That is nothing that is quell'd by one or two failures

Or by any number of failures.

Or by the indifference or ingratitude of the people

Or by any unfaithfulness; or the show of the tushes of power,

Soldiers, cannon penal statutes.

What we believe in waits latent for ever thro' all

The continents.

... Sits in calmness and light, is positive and composed,

Knows no discouragement.

Waiting patiently—waiting its time.

WALT WHITMAN

DOUBTS

about that new age

IN the following quotations—the first from an article in the E. Standard, Jan. 11, the second from a speech reported in the D. Herald, Jan. 5—two diametrically opposed philosophers say the same thing.

These two wars are the greatest calamity that has ever befallen the human race; and it is childish to dream that a time of prosperity can come out of them. And yet we hear every day insincere twaddle about a better world after the war. "Reconstruction"—of straw without bricks. Why cannot we remember the words of Bishop Butler, speaking in the calm, common-sense tones of the eighteenth century: "Things are what they are, and their consequences will be what they will be. Why then should we wish to deceive ourselves?"

W. R. INGE

A new epoch will begin for mankind after the war. Are we sure it will not be a new dark age?

HAROLD J. LASKI

For INDEPENDENT Views

"I am not a pacifist, but I am always in search of facts, and some that you give are important."

SO wrote a reader in a recent letter to Peace News. He is not the only non-pacifist for whom the paper has value. Our campaign for a 20,000 circulation has already shown us that there are plenty of people who will give PN a trial, if it is brought to their attention.

Press advertising alone has brought new subscriptions that are climbing toward the 200-mark already.

The moral for all our pacifist readers is: Help to make Peace News more widely known. Thoughtful people realize that it is impossible to reach a balanced judgment if one reads only one side of the case; and in many important matters today the big newspapers tend to speak with a single voice.

So among your friends, and in all the places where you meet people, watch for those who might be glad to see a paper which is independent of the influences that affect the war-time national press. We need your help in getting another 2,000 readers.

New readers can try Peace News for three months at the special post-free rate of 2s. Postal order, together with name and address, should be sent to Peace News, Dept. C.1, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

TERMS: Cash with order, except for series bookings. Copy by Monday. 2d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra.) Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

Owing to pressure on space we reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

ACCOMMODATION

ANGLESEY. The House of Rest. All seeking New Life are welcome. Modern amenities. Beautiful surroundings. Write particulars: Secretary, Brynhyfryd, Beaumaris.

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation; all modern comforts. A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock (Station: Ambergate; Tel. Ambergate 44).

FOR ALL properties to be let or sold in N.W. London and Districts, apply to McCraith and Brooks, Auctioneers and Surveyors, 44 Market Place, N.W.11. (Speedwell 9888, 5 lines), who will give special attention to the requirements of pacifists.

LARGE unfurnished room to let, use of bath etc. Hampstead Garden Suburb. Moderate rent. Box 285.

MARRIED Woman (boy 5), expecting baby June, requires accommodation in exchange help cooking, light housework, sewing, care of children. Farm preferred. Box 284.

NEWBURY. Accommodation offered mother with child (about seven) to share lessons with another. Box 232

TWO furnished rooms to let, use kitchen, bathroom. Near London. 34 Clargate Rd., Bushey, Herts.

WANTED, URGENTLY. homely furnished accommodation for young married (landworker) C.O.'s wife and baby. Wife willing co-operate, give mutual help. Must be vicinity Horsesham, within Guildford-East Grinstead limits. Box 283.

WYE VALLEY (and Forest of Dean). Guest house in own parkland 150 acres. Very tranquil. Mild district. Delightful walking centre. From £3. "Lindors," St. Briavels, Gloucester.

YOUNG Pacifist couple require flat within reach of Woodford. Box 278.

EDUCATIONAL

FIND RECREATION and new power to serve through speaking and writing. Correspondence (also visit) lessons 5s., classes 1s. 6d. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3.

FOR SALE AND WANTED

BURL'S Cycle Maker, F.I.Cye.T., can still give excellent repair and sales service. Call 722b Old Kent Rd., London, S.E.15, or 'phone New Cross 4129.

FOR SALE. Linguaphone German Course. 15 double-sided records in carrier case. Complete with books. £5. Box 282.

LAMB BRAND Typewriter Ribbons, cleanest, clearest, longest, 3s. 6d. postage paid; 10s. three; 18s. 6d. six. Name models, colours. Hardman and Sons, 15 Prospect Pl., Preston.

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL would welcome gifts of foreign stamps, for subsequent sale on behalf of W.R.I. funds. Any such gifts received with gratitude. Please send to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield, Middlesex.

LAND AND COMMUNITY

ESSENTIAL and constructive work. Women at Holton Beckering would welcome co-operation of others free to help in running farmhouses for young farmworkers with progressive purpose. Particulars from Community Farming Society, Holton Beckering, Wragby, Lincs.

LITERATURE, etc.

CHRIST IS COMING. Paradise to be restored on earth. Read "God's Picture Book," 3d., from Secretary, Prophetic League, 21 Poplar Grove, New Malden, Surrey.

GIFT FOR C.O.s in prison. "How Green Was My Valley." Relatives write. Marshall, 21 Wheatlands Drive, Bradford, Yorks.

BOOKS LOANED to C.O.s on land, etc.; without obligation. Write for list Marshall as above.

HAVE YOU visited the Pioneer Bookshop? Largest stock in London of Socialist and Progressive literature. A visit will repay you—and us. Books sent to order. Open 11.30 to 6 (Sats. included). Charlotte Place, Lodge St., W.1.

Literature, etc., continued

"INDIA: Who is Responsible?" gives striking facts concerning Indian conditions. By C. H. Wilson, M.P., and Douglas Owen. 4d. per copy (including postage) from D. Owen, 6 Mount St., Manchester 2.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

"THESE THINGS SHALL BE!" God's amazing preparations for a new order! 1s. Christian Institute (Dept. P.N.), 174 Foresthill Rd., London, S.E.23.

MEETINGS, etc.

CHICHESTER Friends' Meeting House, Priory Rd., Sat., Feb. 5, at 3.15 p.m., John Barclay.

DR. DONALD SOPER will preach on "The Christian Attitude to Crime and Punishment" at Kingsway Hall, 11 a.m., Feb. 13, in connection with P.M.R.C. conference (see separate displayed announcement this issue).

FOR C.O.s in the Oxford District. The Oxford Peace Group are holding a New Year's Party for C.O.s on Sat., Feb. 5, 5.30 to 8. C.O.s in the district who would like an invitation should write to Miss S. Tatham, Northcourt House, Abingdon, Berks.

G. D. H. COLE on "The Limits of Nationalism," Kingsway Hall, W.C.2, at 1.10 p.m., Wed., Feb. 2. Admission free. National Peace Council.

P.P.U. BIRMINGHAM COUNCIL. A.G.M. on Sat., Feb. 5, Friends' Meeting House, Bull St., 3-8.30 p.m. Please bring food for tea, which will be pooled.

PRISON MEDICAL REFORM speaker available for groups en route London-Norwich, or near Norwich, dates around Apr. 27. Apply P.M.R.C., 5 Lower Camden, Chislehurst, Kent.

SERVICE OF YOUTH. A Lunch Hour Address by Ronald Wraith (of Westhill Training College, Birmingham), Feb. 1, 1.20 p.m., at Friends' House, Euston Rd., N.W.1.

THE Northampton Breakfasts! Sun., Feb. 6, Rev. John W. Edmondson: "Healing the Wounds of War." Friends' Meeting House, Wellington St., 8.30.

THURS., Feb. 3. 7.45 p.m., at Friends' Meeting House, Bushwood, Leytonstone. Patrick Figgis, "The Task Before Us." Chairman, E. C. Redhead. Collection. Walthamstow Regional Meeting.

PERSONAL

ARTISTS seeking present and post-war markets are requested to contact Michael Hughes, 5 Station Rd., Eppingham, Surrey.

CONTACT CORRESPONDENCE CLUB. A satisfactory medium for those desiring congenial pen-friendships. Particulars, stamp, Secy., PN, 19 Ty Fry Gardens, Rumney, Cardiff.

JOIN Victory Correspondence Club. 34 Honeywell Rd., S.W.11, for congenial pen-friends. Stamp.

WILL COPPIN, Vice-Chairman of Co-operative War Resisters' Association, will allocate all dividend from L.C.S. share number 361536 to the Association funds for the next six months. Those wishing to help should use this number when trading with L.C.S.

WILL CORRESPONDENTS please note that John Scanlon's address is now Isle of Gigha, Argyll, Scotland.

SITUATIONS VACANT

CATERPILLAR Tractor driver required for timber extraction in the woods (roughly 50 miles radius London). Good money, lodging allowance, forestry exemption required. Write Willgress, 168 Parsonage Lane, Enfield, Middlesex.

HELP WANTED ON smallholding. Proper wage, accommodation found, partnership considered. Finch, Windmill, Hullbridge-on-Crouch, Essex.

HELP WANTED. Smart, quick man mainly for Platen work. 2-3-4 days (alternate) a week. C. F. Ducret, Cargreen Rd., Norwood Junction, S.E.25.

MAN required to manage 3 acres; some experience market gardening; £4 per week; digs locally. Wickliffe House, Badsey, Worcs.

MEDICAL Assistant required with view to partnership. Apply Dr. Harold Thomas, St. Clare, Merthyr Tydfil.

"THE MASQUE THEATRE" requires actors able to work alternate days. Details from Geoffrey Palmer, The Studio, 38 Abbey Rd., N.W.8.

WANTED, FULL-TIME organizer Yorks Area. £4 per week and expenses. Apply G. Tattersall, 19 John William St., Huddersfield.

WANTED IMMEDIATELY. Junior School Housemother. 20 children ages 7 to 10. Beltane School, Shaw, Melksham.

WANTED IMMEDIATELY. Master to teach Common Entrance Latin and English, and general subjects in lower form. Prep. School in Midlands. Box 281.

Situations Vacant continued

WANTED, MARRIED pair, cook and help in housework. Other assistance provided, comfortable home, good wages. Box 277.

WANTED, YOUNG man or woman take charge small dairy herd under supervision owner. Comfortable home, quiet district. Tobey, Chivelstone, Kingsbridge, Devon.

SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED

ACCOUNTANT, ex-gaol C.O., prepares all forms of accounts, audits, income tax returns etc. Box 237.

C.O. (spare-time condition), L.R.A.M., seeks post in school. Single. Box 280.

FIERCE progressive, demoralized several years' land reclamation, wants intellectual job contributing to social welfare. Undergraduate, modern languages, philosophy, Associate Library Association, agnostic, socialist. Box 279.

WILL ANYONE help woman (50) pacifist to find paid post. She has run own home many years, has office training, used to responsibility and trust, has some small knowledge and great love of books, keen hard worker if interested, liking for country life and dogs, open to try anything. Box 254.

WORCESTER City, radius 15-20 miles: Kitchenman, assist gardening, drive car. Live in, age 57, alert, active. Wife long experience cook and domestic; or farm work, available later if satisfactory. F., c/o Box 266.

MISCELLANEOUS

INSTITUTE PSYCHOLOGY, Kensington. Lectures every Tuesday 7 p.m. Philosophy, genuine social introductions. Consultations all problems. Western 8935.

PACIFIST HEALTH CENTRE, Natural treatment of disease and eyes; manipulative massage; water and dietetic treatment, etc. Principal: Reg. J. Bailey, M.S.F., N.C.P., Osteopath and Naturopath (ex-Maidstone C.O.), 134 Hoppers Rd., Winchmore Hill, N.21. Palmers Green 7868, by appointment.

The latest time for the receipt of alterations to standing orders for Peace News and PN Pamphlets is first post on Tuesday before publication.

All available space for **DISPLAYED ADVERTISEMENTS** in NEXT ISSUE is already booked.

German Bars Way to God

FREEDOM of worship is in peril in Torquay!

A German pastor, Dr. William Karle, has been appointed to St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church. And, as a member of the management committee who has resigned in consequence put it to the Daily Herald on Jan. 23,

"How can we worship under a German, even though he was brought from Germany to England before the war by the Bishop of Chichester?"

Dr. Karle, who was a colleague of Pastor Niemoeller, is to be inducted next month. The treasurer, clerk, and auditor of the church are among the "many members and officials" who have resigned.

POLAND: ALLIES' PLEDGE MUST BE HONOURED

A REMINDER that the Allies have promised in Article 2 of the Atlantic Charter, that any territorial changes arising out of the war shall be subject to "the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned" is contained in a statement on Russia and Poland adopted by the National Peace Council at its meeting on Jan. 19.

The Council (says the statement) "shares to the full the desire to see a friendly accord established between Poland and the Soviet Union as a necessary part of a post-war settlement aiming at the peace and well-being of the European peoples, but is gravely disturbed at the suggestion that territories should be transferred from Poland to Russia or from Germany to Poland without an explicit reference of the issue to the peoples involved . . .

"The Council trusts that in using its good offices to achieve a solution of this and of kindred questions arising out of the European situation, the British Government (a) will stand unequivocally for the principle of Article 2 of the Atlantic Charter . . . and (b) will encourage an approach to the settlement of all such questions which throws the emphasis not upon the determination of frontiers but on the building up of common European policies, services, and institutions."

United Nations' Choice

'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

THUS the choice appears to lie between (1) pounding wearily and grimly on in the hope of, extorting, "unconditional surrender" from the Germans and achieving chaos, and (2) coming to some sort of agreement with Germany while her organization of Europe remains intact, because that organization alone stands between Europe and chaos.

The latter offers three variations. Either (a) Russia, Britain, and USA act in concert, or (b) Russia does it separately, or (c) Britain and USA do it separately. As between the last two, (b) is, on the face of things, more probable than (c), because Russia, alone of the Big Three, has by her statements always recognized the necessity of an ordered German State.

Published recently:

- ★ **QUESTIONS TO C.O.s**
2d. (3d. by post)
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for December and January
(containing the N.C.C.L. letters)
3d. (4d.) each
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Eight Essays on Very Varied Subjects with an Exhausting Index: 6d. (postage 1d.)

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THEY THINK FOR THEMSELVES IN KIRKCALDY

By HENRY HILDITCH, Christian Socialist Candidate

NO one who had undertaken political canvassing would be surprised to come across a wife who wanted to refer decisions back to her man, but I met the unusual the other day when a mild looking woman informed me that she had not made up her mind. "But when I do," she said, "my husband will vote the same way."

It is this note of unexpectedness which relieves the dull monotony of making the same speech to an audience of one.

At No. 37, for instance, after a disappointing spell of calls, a woman greets me by my name and says she has seen me at an open-air meeting. She promises the vote of mother, husband, and aunt.

A brother and sister talk to me at the door and then invite me in to see mother. Her son comes in and says that the election is now a major topic of conversation at the works. "You'll get a good few votes there."

MINERS TALKING TOO

On a bus a miner, going on "back-shift," had sat beside me and asked how things were going. "It's all right for the Labour Party and Communists to say nothing matters but to get on with the war. The boys at the pit are thinking differently. They are beginning to talk a lot, and I think the party will get a shock. Good luck."

The woman at No. 51 said: "My husband was in the last war and joined up at the beginning of this. What else is there to do when one has been unemployed for six years? War is bad, but that was worse for us, and we're afraid even with all the promises it will be the same again."

At No. 3, the door is opened by a soldier home on leave. "I go back on Saturday, so unfortunately I shan't be here on voting day, but you can be sure my wife will give you her vote," and before moving on we have a general talk about the war and the causes of war.

CO-OP GUILD HEARS CASE

Mrs. C seems very reluctant to talk when she comes to the door, but is in no hurry to move away. Then she says: "I've already seen a leaflet of yours—'Next Generation.' I'm the Guild secretary. I took it along and

spoke about it; I thought they should vote for a man with such ideals."

"But," I said, "I suppose your members will vote for the official Labour candidate?" "Well, Co-op members can think for themselves, you know," was her reply.

It was now growing dusk and I decided that this was a good note on which to finish the afternoon's work. There's a great temptation to anticipate the future and see a straw and dream it's a haystack, but this work will be of value far beyond polling day.

At a meeting on Sunday the Divisional Labour Party chose as its candidate Councillor Hubbard, of Dysart, and the party's campaign has now opened.

Offers of help and money for Hilditch should be sent to his agent, Donald Port, 71 High St., Kirkcaldy, Fife.

ARMISTICE RESOLUTION

Will Coppin (who told Peace News that, "contrary to rumours, I am quite fit after my imprisonment") intends to present an armistice resolution to the London Co-operative Society (as he did last year) at the April meetings of members.

All who wish to support him in this should attend the Co-operative War Resisters Association annual general meeting at 10 a.m. of Jan. 30 in the National Peace Council offices, 144 Southampton Row, W.C.1, or write to him at 130 Balfour Rd., Ilford, Essex.

About 80 people attended a public meeting in the Merchant Hall, Derby, on Jan. 15 "to consider the possibility of securing peace by negotiation before incurring the great slaughter of youth and the further devastation of Europe involved in the policy of invasion."

With two dissentients, they passed a resolution "in the name of Christ and Humanity" demanding action to that end from the leaders of the Christian Churches in Britain and America.

ALAN STANILAND concludes his comments on "mechanized man"

Leisure is Not For Sale

The aim of these short articles has not been the elaboration of a perfected industrial society, or the consideration of all the political problems that stand in its way.

My attempt has been only to stimulate thought on the distinction between essential and inessential features of the industrialism which we all join in criticizing. That in many ways it is a perversion of human skill is certain, but I believe the best judges of the perversion of a technique are those who are capable of appreciating what its unperverted enjoyment means.

LEISURE, as Wilfred Wellock has pointed out, has for long been the chief good promised to the worker by industrialism. But it is interesting to notice, even in the attitude of more enthusiastic advocates than Wellock, a certain fear of the effects of increased leisure upon social discipline. Will leisure be used well or will it become only a mindless relief from the drudgery of unenthusiastic mass labour?

The sad truth is that increase of leisure is a dangerous notion because our modern societies have not developed an ethic in which the self-disciplined use of leisure has a vital and creative place. "To work," says Wellock, "is to earn money, to play is to spend it." It is far more than an empty cynicism that society is only disciplined in the activities it performs for money.

Social co-operation is fundamentally a matter of exchange of products and skills; it is really in no way surprising if the instrument of their exchange is a pre-eminent expression of a society's internal discipline. Beneath all the abuses of the money system for speculation and doubtful profit, money has still some validity as a measure of the social value of one's labour, and the discipline it imposes, though not irreplaceable by a more conscious social ethic, is very far from being superseded.

In this fact is the significance of the uneasiness with which many

people think of increased leisure. The money discipline does not operate in leisure activities, and we have no accepted social principles to take its place. New principles, we hope, will emerge, but meanwhile suppose we explore a possible variation in the application of the discipline under which we work at present.

"ECONOMIC SLAVERY"

A curious feature of modern society—often commented on but seldom analysed—is the extent to which it ties men to a single kind of work: five and a half or six days a week, 50 or 51 weeks of the year, a clerk, a dustman, or a factory operative. This is often called "economic slavery," and in some cases it is.

Yet the point I want to make is that in very many cases it is not strictly to be called "economic," but is the result of habits of industrial organization which are not economically incapable of change, and which are, moreover, by no means confined to highly mechanized industry.

Take a concrete case. I am a fair carpenter. I need a sideboard. It would cost me, say, £14. If I can afford £14 at all, I can equally well afford to sacrifice a week or ten days' salary, buy the wood, and make it myself. I should enjoy doing so, and in fact I should save money. The spare money that I should have paid to the shop instead maintains me and my family while I make the side-

Government on 'Cat-and-Mouse'

WHEN the Duke of Bedford, in the House of Lords on Jan. 18, again raised the question of cat-and-mouse treatment of conscientious objectors, the Government reply was to emphasize the leniency that prevails as the general rule and to point out how few are the exceptions to it.

The Government, it was claimed, had made every effort to avoid "cat-and-mouse"; to make the provisions absolutely water-tight would be impossible without unwarrantably fettering the administrative authorities.

The Duke of Bedford referred particularly to the fact that courts-martial sometimes award sentences which deny a man the right to appeal.

In reply, Lord Croft, after describing how the provision of a qualifying sentence had been made in order to avoid "cat-and-mouse" admitted that it had always been clear that it could not actually prevent either the awarding of non-qualifying sentences or the refusal of the Appellate Tribunal to allow repeated appeals. But the Government had gone out of its way to draw the attention of courts-martial to its intention in providing the qualifying sentence.

Lord Croft also gave three examples of how favourably "the generally lenient attitude which has been adopted by the administrative authorities" compares with the strictly legal position:

1. Although men who have served sentences for refusing medical examination are still legally liable to be summoned again for examination, "in practice they are instead directed to do useful civilian work."
2. Whereas the law provides that a man who, having qualified to appeal again, is recommended for discharge from the army shall be discharged "as soon as may be after serving the sentence," the practice is to discharge him at once and remit any unexpired part of the sentence.
3. In spite of the fact that "men who become conscientious objectors while they are in the forces" have no statutory right of appeal to a tribunal, the Appellate Tribunal does consider such cases, and when it recommends a man's discharge "he is invariably discharged."

Finally Lord Croft pointed out that the suggestion that detention should qualify a man in the same way as imprisonment does would still not close the loopholes.

Great concern at "the repeated prosecution of COs for fire-watching offences" was expressed by the London Union of the Fellowship of Reconciliation at a meeting on Jan. 22.

board. Economically the thing is possible.

That week's freedom might be managed. But suppose I want to build a house—and, of course, can afford to do so and am capable of the work.

The difficulty is not economic but organizational. It would be inconvenient for my employer to find a substitute for six months or a year, and I can, in reality, only buy the leisure—which I can afford—at an additional cost of future insecurity of employment.

Two points are important. The first, that I am not simply outlining an idealistic picture of a free society without facing the difficulties involved. My concern is to emphasize the extent to which limitation of variety of occupation is not economic but organizational. Even if we can afford them, we cannot buy small packets of leisure for our personal interests. There is practically no alternative between being a whole-time worker or a man of independent means.

The second point is that, nevertheless, if the organizational problem can be solved, here is a possibility—and one within the monetary discipline—of giving increased scope to more varied and personal skills. For though, with Wellock, I believe they have a vital place in the complete life, I do not believe that our enlarged societies can again be based upon them, but that their natural future is within the intimacy of individual taste and home surroundings. Speaking for myself I do not want to be a whole-time carpenter, but I should like to be able to make—or grow—for myself many things which I am now forced to buy.

This article has kept far away from the question of "mechanized man" which it was supposed to tackle. Let me point the connection briefly and leave the question for, I hope, other people's consideration.

The mass producer is called—often, I think, with some exaggeration—"a mere cog in the machine." Monotony is not in fact confined to the factory: I think I would as soon work on a conveyor belt as type other people's letters eight hours a day. But precisely to the extent that industry does come to be based upon repetitive and easily learnt operations the freer organization of individual time also becomes possible.

The more personal and responsible a man's work, the less easily could he be treated as one of a group of equivalent and interchangeable workers. But, by one of the self-adjusting paradoxes of this world, it is the less responsible worker who, if he and society demanded it, could be given—within his own capacities and financial judgment—the greater degree of freedom.

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